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SUMMARY

The German Government has employed mostly Nazi party officials for the administration of Poland, particularly Himmler's Schutz-Staffel and Gestapo. The administration concentrates normal administrative functions and the highly developed machinery of economic exploitation in the same hands. The pattern of administration first developed for Poland has since been extended to other conquered areas.

The German Government has used the personnel and the facilities of great German trading companies to destroy or to capture control of all Polish business. Germans in Poland gained a complete monopoly of the wholesale business and of agricultural marketing.

The German administration has sent increasing numbers of Polish workers to Germany. Most were agricultural workers, as before, but many were factory workers, between 18 and 23 years of age, recently trained in technical schools and munitions factories in Poland.

Industrial productivity in Poland did not regain its pre-1939 level until the middle of 1941. The 90% increase of industrial employment in Wartheland between April 1940 and April 1941, indicates the extent to which industries in this area had previously suffered. Production in upper Silesia did not recover as quickly as Germans expected, but now probably exceeds the pre-1939 level. Industrial employment during the first half of 1941

[belongs 3 pages later]

I. INTRODUCTION

With the outbreak of the German-Russian War, Poland has become a vital base of operations, the only important link between Germany and the eastern front. Before the Russian campaign, German-occupied Poland was first of all a proving ground for the German New Order. Germanization and ruthless exploitation worked hand-in-hand. Here the Nazi party was free to experiment with the administration of a conquered people. Poland became a reservoir of labor, particularly agricultural labor, for Germany. It also became a source of food and raw materials. Industry, artificially stimulated by the Poles in the triangle south of Warsaw in order to make it less vulnerable than Silesian industry, was allowed to lag. Even the Silesian area, the great center of heavy industry in Poland, was not, at the close of 1940, operating at pre-1939 capacity.

In most respects, the attack on Russia changed German tactics in Poland only slightly. The general policy of terror and extermination, although modified somewhat in the matter of moving populations, was continued, and in practice became more ruthless as applied to food and living conditions. The parallel process of Germanization continued, and interests in Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and White Russian national minorities increased. The mechanism for economic exploitation, developed in the previous period, was thoroughly tested, and more direct and drastic measures of outright requisitioning put into effect.

The most important change took place in the war industries.

averaged only about 35% of the pre-1939 level. Employment in heavy industry was slightly above the 35% average, although difficulties in coal transport affected production in foundries. Munitions, machine, and chemical industries filling German army orders are operating at capacity. Certain key plants in these industries have been enlarged and rationalized.

German policy toward national groups is "divide and rule." It attacks all manifestations of "Pan-nationalism," as in the case of the Pan-Ukrainian movement. It seeks to de-nationalize the Poles by emphasizing the local individuality of Kassubs in the Corridor, Lemki in the Carpathian region, Massovians of Zichenau, north of Warsaw, and the inhabitants of upper Silesia, and by suggesting that these groups have more affinity with Germanic than with Slavic peoples. Anti-Semitism is exploited to drive a wedge between Poles and Jews. All tendencies of minority groups - White Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians - to cooperate with each other are rigorously suppressed.

The entire German policy is aimed at the destruction of the Polish nationality and the complete Germanization of Polish territories. The instruments of the policy are expulsion of Poles, absorption of Polish labor in the Reich, complete domination of all phases of economic life in Poland, unremitting attacks on the educated classes and the Church, and demoralization of the entire Polish population through food shortage and an excess of cheap intoxicants. The destructive aspects of the policy are combined with stimulation of German colonization and of the cultural activity of Volksdeutsche.

The policies of expulsion and colonization are applied in the annexed areas, and not in the "Government-General" of Poland, but in all other respects there is a single policy for all of Poland.

The industries of the central territory south of Warsaw and north of Cracow (the Radom area) were revived, some of the plants were rationalized, and new machinery was brought in. These plants had originally been devoted largely to manufacture of munitions, and the Germans easily transformed them to supply the eastern front.

The purpose of this report is to describe the situation in Poland during the year 1941, when the area was so deeply affected by the Russian war.[1] The study distinguishes between annexed areas and the Government-General. The aim of German policy in the two areas is the same: destruction of Polish national culture and feeling, Germanization, and "all-out" economic exploitation. There are also many resemblances in both institutions and methods. The administrative systems for the new eastern provinces of the Reich and for the Government-General are not totally unlike, since the newly-annexed territories are legally and practically treated as special areas. There are signs that they may be merged by outright annexation of the Government-General. Yet there are also many differences between the two areas and they must be treated separately.

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[1] The Report is largely based on *Raport Sytuacyjny Okupacji Niemieckiej za czas od(?) I do 1, VII, 1941*, compiled by S. Mikolajczyk, Minister of Home Affairs of the Polish Government in Exile, dated London, November 4, 1941. Other main Polish sources are the *Polish Fortnightly Review*, published in London, and the *Documents relating to the Administration of Occupied Countries in Eastern Europe*, published in New York. Some of these had evidently already made use of parts of the Mikolajczyk report. German sources also have been used, particularly articles in the periodicals *Deutsches Recht*, *Der deutsche Volkswirt*, *Die deutsche Volkswirtschaft*, *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, *Das Gouvernement General*, and the newspapers *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Originally the area and population of the two segments of Polish territory - the annexed area and the Government-General - were about the same. The annexed areas without Danzig totaled 91,973.6 sq. km., with a population of 10,043,343 (Wirtschaft und Statistik, 1. December, 1940, p. 536); and the Government-General included 93,871 sq. km., with a population of 12,107,418 (Wirtschaft und Statistik 1. November, 1940).

The addition of Galicia on August 1, 1941, enlarged both the area and the population of the Government-General - the area by about 61,800 sq. km., the population by about 6,208,000. The line of demarcation in the North was drawn only a short distance from Warsaw, following the Vistula and the Bug on the line Dobrzyn-Wyszkow and extending from Skrwa in the West to Pissa in the East. At Skrwa the boundary turns south and follows a general line extending from a point just east of Lodz to a point just west of Cracow. The annexed areas include the entire former Polish provinces of Pomerania, Posen, and Silesia, the northern circles of the province of Warsaw, the western circles of the province of Lodz (including the city of Lodz), the southwestern corner of the province of Kielce, and the western tier of circles of the province of Cracow.

The annexed areas are much richer in mineral agricultural resources than the Government-General and far more developed both agriculturally and industrially. The Posen area normally supplied central Poland with its surplus agricultural production, while Upper Silesia had a virtual monopoly on coal, zinc, and lead production. The addition of Galicia, with its surplus wheat production, oil wells, and potash deposits, would normally have helped to balance the economy of the Government-General. Under present circumstances it does not, since all surplus production accrues solely to the benefit of the German war economy.

II. ANNEXED AREAS

A. Administration

The basis for administration of the annexed areas was established by the decree of October 8, 1939[1] and by successive decrees and ordinances of October 20, October 26, and November 2, 1939, and January 29, 1940. These set up the *Reichsgau* of West-Preussen, including the three districts of Danzig, Bromberg, and Marienwerder; and the *Reichsgau* Wartheland, with the districts of Posen, Hohensalza and Litzmannstadt. Heads of the two new areas were given the title *Reichsstatthalter* and were empowered to act as representatives of Berlin in financial administration, justice, and propaganda.

Another new *Reichsgau* was established in the annexed territories on January 27, 1941, when the province of Silesia was divided into Lower Silesia and Upper Silesia. The new "Gau Oberschlesien", with its two districts of Oppeln and Kattowitz, includes not only the former German Upper Silesia and Polish Silesia,[2] but also contiguous parts of the former Polish provinces of Cracow and Kielce. Thus, for the first time, this "natural" economic unit - this great Upper Silesian-Dabrowica coal and industrial area - has been combined into a single administrative unit.

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[1] *Reichsgesetzblatt*, I, 2042; referred to hereafter as RG Bl.

[2] Polish Silesia includes the Tesihen area ceded to Poland by Czechoslovakia in October, 1938.

German occupation of Poland found Germany's supply of trained administrative personnel seriously depleted. The successive occupations of Austria, Sudetenland, and the Protectorate (Bohemia and Moravia), and the outbreak of the war, had drained the reserves of available personnel. The Germans claim, moreover, that Poland's repressive policy had incapacitated the ability of the German minority in Poland to perform administrative functions. On the other hand, the Danzigers were thoroughly prepared for German occupation, and they provided an important part of the government personnel in the new provinces (*Gaue*) of Wartheland and Danziger-West-Preussen. Artur Greiser and Albert Forster, both notorious citizens of Danzig, became the *Reichsstatthälter* of these provinces. Germans from the Baltic states and from Volhynia and Bessarabia also assumed administrative posts, but for the most part officials came from the Reich itself. They were members of legal firms and agents connected with export business in Hamburg; officials from evacuated areas on the Western Front; and chiefly, members of the Nazi party organizations.

As in the Reich itself, the Nazi party and the administration were completely merged in the annexed areas of Poland. Both Greiser and Forster occupy the dual position of *Gauleiter* and *Statthalter,* while the key official of the entire administration is both Schutz-staffel officer and police chief *(höherer S-S und Polizeifuhrer).* This latter official is responsible to only two superiors: the *Reichstatthälter* of the

Gau and Heinrich Himmler, Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums. From top to bottom the fusion of government and party is complete.

Nazis explain that this union economizes personnel, breaks down the rigid barriers and stiff formality of the old bureaucracy, and infuses the administration with the efficiency and zeal of the party.1/ Actually, it creates an efficient and ruthless instrument of exploitation.

The establishment of German courts to administer German law was a gradual process. Lack of personnel and difficulties of transition delayed the establishment of a comprehensive court system in the Wartheland area until November 26, 1940 (RGBl. I. 1538) when eight district courts were constituted, together with five to nineteen Amtsgerichte (like American municipal courts), in each district. Four Sondergerichte (special courts for political crimes), were also established. Polish courts had no status in the annexed areas and the German judges of the new courts were charged particularly with complete Germanization of the legal system, (Deutsches Recht, Heft 19/20, May 17, 1941, pp. 1054-55, Ausgabe A). In this respect, the annexed provinces were treated more rigorously than the Government-General.

1/ Transmission of orders and giving of reports by word of mouth rather than by mountains of tedious written material was one method. Another was the substitution of one group of terms and titles for another: for example, Kamerad for Herr Kollege, Chef, for Vorgesetzte, Mitarbeiter for Untergebene, Gefolgschaftsgedanken for Bürokratie and Entscheidung for Vorgang.

B. Economic Exploitation

1. Industry

The great bulk of pre-war Polish industry, particularly heavy industry, was concentrated in the Upper Silesian area, now incorporated into the Reich and administered as a separate province. Immediately after the Polish campaign, German administrators, many of them familiar with the area, moved in to increase production. Plants at first produced only 40 to 60 percent of pre-war totals, and one of the oldest steel works, the Modrzejow-Hantke Co., was shut down entirely. Even at the end of 1940, production of the Polish iron and steel industry had been raised only to 80 percent of its pre-war level; 82,000 tons of pig iron, 125,000 tons of ingots and 88,000 tons of finished steel monthly. German efforts evidently were not entirely successful.

All heavy industry in Upper Silesia produces for German armament factories. The great mills work exclusively on military contracts: Steelworks Baildon, Steelworks Ferrum, and Works Elevator in Kattowitz, Works Batory-Wielkie Hajduki, Works Pilsudski-Chorzow, Works Zgoda Swietochlowice, Works Pokoj-Nowy Bytom, Works Florian Swietochlowice, Works Laura-Siemanowice, Fitzner-Siemanowice and the works in Trzyniec. At present, ownership of the greatest of the former Polish steel concerns, the Wspolnota Interesow (United Interests), is divided between the German firms of Röchling and Krupp. Pokoj, the second largest steel works, has been transferred to Ballestrem-Oberhütten. The Karwina and Trzyniec Works in Upper

Silesia, as well as the principal steel mills of the Government-General, have been incorporated into the Hermann Göring concern. All iron trade centers have been transferred either to German wholesalers, such as Dobertin, or awarded to Werks-Firmen of the German iron and steel industry.

The extractive industries, coal mining for example, are also exploited by the Germans. The mines of the Dabrowica-Silesian coal basin (main source of Polish supply) are operating at full capacity, but the scarcity of railroad cars and general congestion in the transport system make delivery extremely slow and difficult. As a partial solution of the transport difficulties, the Germans have made plans to exploit the brown coal deposits of Posen--almost entirely neglected by the Poles themselves--but at present there is no concrete evidence of their success.

Similarly, the great textile industry of Lodz has fallen into German hands. Of a total of 2,387 factories, 2,000 are being "held in trust" by the Treuhandstelle Ost. Production has fallen to about 30 percent of pre-war output, because of the exhaustion of raw material stocks, although some of this deficiency may be supplied by the use of cellulose and casein products.1/

2. Germanization of Polish Property

The work of the Reichskommissar für die Festigung des Deutschen Volkstums was supplemented by that of two agencies,

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1/ Neve Zürcher Zeitung, November 24, 1941.

the *Haupttreuhandstelle Ost* and the *Ostdeutsche Landbewirtschaftung G.m.b.H.* The *Haupttreuhandstelle Ost* (H.T.O.) was established as an agency of the *Vierjahresplan*. Its principal office is in Berlin, with five branches in the annexed area.1/ It maintains several subsidiary corporations; *Handelsaufbau Ost G.m.b.H.* and *Handwerksaufbau G.m.b.H.* to deal with commercial enterprises and handicraft industries; *Grundstückgesellschaft der Haupttreuhandstelle Ost G.m.b.H.*--with a central office in Berlin and a special branch for the Wartheland--to administer Polish residential properties; and *Hotel-und Gastställengesellschaft Wartheland* to administer hotel properties.

The functions of the H.T.O. are inventory, confiscation, and the administration and allotment of confiscated property. It seized at once all property of the Polish state, of Jews, and of all persons who had entered the territory since October 1, 1918. It is empowered to seize any property or business defined as essential for strategic purposes or for "Germanization."

The activities of the H.T.O. have been extensive and effective, as a few figues will show. Formerly there were 65,000 Polish handicraft shops, of which only 34,000 remain; while the number of such shops in private German hands has increased from 4,700 to 10,000. In the Wartheland alone the *Treuhandstelle Posen* has inventoried more than 42,700 businesses, including 17,300 handicraft shops, 17,200 commercial and 3,500

1/ Its activities also extend to the Government-General.

industrial enterprises. The Litzmannstadt (Lodz) office has inventoried 16,600 enterprises, of which it has given 4,504 and sold 1,549 to Germans who have entered the area.

German policy toward economic enterprise differs sharply in the annexed areas and in the Government-General. In the latter it concentrates wholesale and retail business and industrial activity in as few hands as possible; in the annexed provinces, it favors the protection of medium-sized and smaller units against large commercial houses. The object of dispersing widely the ownership of confiscated property is to give the provinces a truly German character by settling as many Germans as possible. Moreover, if Germany is defeated, it would be much more difficult for the Polish government to deal with a large number of small properties than with a few large ones. (Polish Feature and News Service, New York, No. 20, January, 1942.)

The Ostdeutsche Landbewirtschaftung G.m.b.H. (Ostland) directly controls, as agent for the Reich, one-fourth of the arable land in Wartheland, while in addition it supervises the cultivation of a substantial area there.[1] The cultivable area of the great Gau Wartheland covers only 3,042,300 hectares, yet throughout the annexed area, "Ostland" supervises 3,300 large estates and a half million small holdings with a total area of almost five million hectares.

"Ostland" has its main office in Berlin. Two central offices, one in Posen and one in Danzig, coordinate the work of branch offices in each of the eight districts of the annexed area. In each of the 80 Landkreise of the occupied territory is a land office of the "Ostland," with a Kreislandwirt at its head. The Kreislandwirt functions as a supervisor of Bezirkslandwirte, whose duties are to manage a number of both large and small estates to achieve maximum agricultural productivity. The announced aim of the "Ostland" is the destruction of all Polish land ownership - in fact, the extermination of the Poles themselves. The method, therefore, is more direct than that used in the Government-General and the administrative organization is separate, but the results are much the same.

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[1] A quarter of all land in the Warthegau is already privately owned by Volksdeutsche.

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C. Population Transfers

1. Colonization of Germans

In order to make room for the incoming Germans, approximately 1,500,000 Poles have been removed from their homes and occupations, under the beneficent guidance of the H.T.O. and the "Ostland." Hitler had promised that all German Volksdeutsche returning to the Reich would be allowed to engage in their customary occupations. For them - as well as for German soldiers in the field, for whom properties are being held in trust - Polish homes, businesses, and farms have been seized. So far, more than a half-million Germans (684,100, according to figures published in September, 1941) have been settled in the area. The majority of those emigrating from Bessarabia, the Dobrudja, South Bukowina, Volhynia, the Government-General and (probably) South Tyrol, have been agriculturists. But from the Baltic States, out of a hundred thousand emigres, peasants numbered only 20 per cent; and from

North Bukowina, with 82,000 emigres, peasants numbered only 30 per cent. The rest were professional people and tradesmen.

The new peasant Volksdeutsche are "Nazified" in German camps before they are settled in Polish territory in units of about 500 (Dorf), 1,000 (Hauptdorf) and 10-20,000 (Burg). Colonists receive financial aid from the German Government. Poles furnish the bulk of the unskilled labor, since only landless Polish laborers are allowed to remain.

Great efforts are made to strengthen the cultural life of the new Germans thus settled in Polish territory. German schools and theaters are built;1/ German theatrical troupes and musical organizations tour the area. The former Polish University of Posen, reopened in April, 1941, has been made a Reichsuniversität. Plans to make it the great center of cultural and economic Germanization of the annexed area call for the expenditure of RM.25,000,000, in addition to the RM.3,000,000 already spent. So far, its chief emphasis has been on agriculture. Twenty-one chairs have been allotted to that department, and several large estates in Wartheland have been taken over as University experimental farms.

2. Removal of Poles

Younger Poles removed from the annexed areas are sent to the Reich, usually as farm laborers; older persons are sent to scattered destinations in the Government-General - the "Polish

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1/ In the county of Plock, for instance, 26 German schools and a theater with a seating capacity of 1,100 have been built.

reservation."1/ Methods of expulsion are notoriously cruel. Truckloads of S-S troopers arrive at villages in early morning hours. Guards with machine guns trained on the village are posted at all roads, bridges, and footpaths. Peasants and their homes are subjected to a thorough search, and personal belongings of value are pilfered by the guards. Deportees are permitted only one suit of clothes and a small ration of food. They are loaded into trucks and sent to a concentration point until two or three thousand hopeless victims are gathered, to be packed into freight cars and shipped to unknown destinations.

D. Germanization: Volksliste

In spite of wholesale deportations, the population of the annexed area remains overwhelmingly Polish. Other means of Germanization, therefore, are used. Ordinarily, no Pole may enjoy German citizenship. Exceptions are made in West-Preussen and particularly in Upper Silesia, where strong efforts are being made to wean at least part of the population from its Polish culture and Polish nationalism. The inhabitants of this region, say the Nazi theorists, are the descendants of Germanic tribes who have, unfortunately, adopted a Slavic tongue. By means of Volksliste, the Germans place these inhabitants in three categories: (a) activists, or Germans inhabiting Poland who, since 1918, have fought actively for the incorporation of western Poland with

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1/ Of those 25,782 persons removed in March, 1941, on which there is reliable information, the greatest number (about 9,000) was sent to the district of Cracow. The remainder were divided quite evenly among the other three districts of the Government-General, with Radom receiving the least.

Germany; (b) Polish Germans who took no active part in this struggle, but who remained definitely within the sphere of German influence; and (c) "renegades," or Poles "of German origin" who during the past years "temporarily" succumbed to the influence of Polish culture. Forster puts in the latter category "each family of which it is known that it had a German parent or grandparent, or has German relations in the old Reich, or any member of which has been a communicant of the Evangelical church, or in regard to which there is any other point of contact indicating German origin . . ."1/ These persons are granted conditional German citizenship for ten years.

Thus the Nazis seek to divide the Poles among themselves, for purposes more thorough Germanization of former Polish territory; but so far, the policy seems to have met with little success. Significantly no figures on the numbers of German converts in the area have been published by the Reich authorities.

E. Terrorism and Persecution

Deportations, Volksliste, and attempts to Germanize certain parts of the annexed area by applying the "tribal unit" theory have proved insufficient to crush Polish nationality and culture. The Germans, therefore, have resorted to systematic terrorism. The situation in the annexed area is worse than in the Government-General, and it is clear that it has been aggravated during 1941. At the same time, detailed information is more scarce. The German press of Posen and Litzmannstadt (Lodz),

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1/ Volkischer Beobachter, May 24, 1941.

however, still contains many reports of death sentences for offences such as violation of economic regulations, listening to foreign broadcasts, insulting the German state and nation, insulting German officials, resort to violence against German nationals, and the like.

Apart from what may be termed official German terrorism, sanctioned in court sentences or police regulations, cases of individual terrorism are reported every day. Germans may behave as they please on Polish soil, and are neither called to account before a German court nor punished for crimes committed against Poles.

Aside from terrorism, Poles are subjected to universal humiliation, and are systematically and brutally reduced to a people without civic or human rights. It is forbidden to speak Polish in the street, in public places, or at work. In towns such as Posen, natives are deprived of their homes and crowded into slum areas on city outskirts. Prevailing wage rates discriminate against Poles; and their right to eat in public dining rooms and restaurants, and to travel in street cars, is extensively curtailed.

Discrimination regarding food rations is best shown by the table published in the Litzmannstädter Zeitung in September:

Week ending September 7, 1941

	Poles	Germans
Margarine -	-	125 gr.
Children under six	-	250 gr.
Children over six	-	
Sugar	250 gr.	1000 gr.
Macaroni or flour	100 gr.	100 gr.
Oatmeal	-	50 gr.
Sago or potato flour	-	50 gr.

	Poles	Germans
Jam	-	150 gr.
Soap cubes	-	3 gr.
Pudding powder	-	1 packet
Synthetic honey	125 gr.	-

The Catholic church, as a stronghold or Polish nationalism, was a logical point of attack for the conquering Germans; and persecution, especially in the annexed areas, has been severe. Immediately after the invasion, approximately 80 per cent of the priests in the Wartheland and West-Preussen were arrested by the Military. Of this number, about half were set free almost immediately; the rest were deported to concentration camps in the Reich, or herded into the Government-General. In Upper Silesia, a large percentage of the priests saved themselves by signing a declaration that they were Germans.

Catholic sources, particularly the reports of Archbishop Hlond, report that persecutions still continue. Many churches have been closed and others, like the cathedral at Gniezno and a parish church in Posen, now serve as German concert halls. All parochial schools have been closed, and members of societies like Catholic Action are persecuted. The student body and curricula of theological seminaries have been curtailed drastically. Priests have been held responsible for reading and enforcing requisitioning decrees.

It is in West Preussen, however, that the situation appears to be the worst. Both here and in the Wartheland, church marriages have been forbidden. Of a total of 650 priests in the diocese of Chelmno (West-Preussen), only 20 remain in their parishes. Priests must report the celebration of masses three days in advance; and prayers, sermons, and confessions in the Polish language have been prohibited by law.

III. THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL

A. Administration

1. Boundaries

Administration in the Government-General has its legal basis in the decree of October 12, 1939, (RGBl I, p. 2077), setting up machinery very similar to that in the annexed territories. The Governor-General, Hans Frank,[1] was appointed by, and is solely responsible to, the Führer. He is likewise head of the Nazi party in his domain. The S S - und Polizei Führer of the area is responsible only to Himmler and to the Governor-General; and, as in the annexed Polish territory, is in full charge of both the ordinary and the criminal police.

Because it is not a part of the Reich proper, the Government-General has a more autonomous organization than the annexed areas. It is an administrative unit, divided at the present time into five districts (Distrikt, not Regierungsbezirk): Cracow, Radom, Warsaw, Lublin, and Galicia. The last, which was added on August 1, 1941, has an area and population more than twice as great as that of any of the other four districts. District chiefs are designated Gouverneur rather than Regierungsprasident; and their work is supplemented by that of district S S and police chiefs whose authority stems from the S S - und Polizei Führer at Cracow. Directly under each district chief are ten circle (county) captains (Kreishauptmanner), who provide the principal point of contact between the German administration and the local Polish administration.

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[1] Frank was a high-ranking Nazi of the old Reich, who still maintains his positions as Reichsminister without portfolio and as editor of Deutsches Recht. He is the principal spokesman of the Nazi concept of justice as whatever is useful to the German people; and in the Government-General, this principle has been given thorough testing and application.

Polish mayors (Starosty), selected by German authorities, are held responsible for tax collection and often for the recruitment of labor. Yet Polish local administration has no reality, since all its important functions have been appropriated by the Germans.

The addition of Galicia to the Government-General, creates new administrative problems of coordination. An administrative council has been set up to assist the district governor, Dr. Lasch. The membership includes the Secretary of State and the S S-und Polizei Führer for the Government-General.

2. Court System

A German judiciary was established in Poland by the decree of October 26, 1939, supplemented by a decree of February 19, 1940. The decrees outlined the German court system and promulgated rules for the transfer of pending cases from Polish courts to German courts. Lack of clearly defined jurisdiction is a deliberate part of the German method in Poland - a method which hampers strict inquests, examination of witnesses, and other legal procedure.

The German judiciary consists of lower and appellate courts. The former, similar to the Landgerichte of the Reich, have been established in 8 cities; and decisions are made by one judge in each court. The appellate courts, with functions similar to the Oberlandgerichte of the Reich, are established in Warsaw, Radom, Lublin, and Cracow. Each has three judges; and the limits of jurisdiction are set by the chief of the corresponding administrative district. Theoretically, decisions made by appellate courts are final; but actually both appellate and lower courts are subject to control. The director of the department of justice in the Government-General "has power to annul the decisions of the German courts, even if they have become res judicata."

Civil litigation is subject to German jurisdiction if: (a) the trial concerns an estate under compulsory management of a German "trustee;" (b) one of the debtors (in bankruptcy cases) is a German or a Volksdeutsche; (c) a German citizen or a Pole of German descent participates in the trial, either as an arbitrator, or as one of the parties in the case.

In criminal cases, the following groups of persons are subject to jurisdiction of German courts: (a) citizens of the Reich (Reichsdeutsche); (b) Polish citizens of German descent (Volksdeutsche); (c) Poles accused of crimes against the German state, or against the life, property, and honor of a German, Such a case might be within the jurisdiction of another court); (d) Poles responsible for acts committed while in the service of the German administration; (e) persons "subject to penalties provided for in the Ordinances of the Governor General or offices authorized by him to that effect"; (f) Poles, if associated with a number of offenders, any one of whom was a German; (g) persons tried en masse, if any one of the cases concerned is subject to a German court.

These lower and appelate courts deal with both civil and criminal cases. In addition criminal courts have been established. First were the military and the police martial courts, the latter usually consisting of a commander of a section of the Gestapo, and two German officials of the area concerned. Courts of these two types dealt summarily with Poles accused of (a) illicit possession of firearms, (b) intentional damage to German property, (c) violence against German civil and military authority, or violence against German individuals because of their race. They still function, but part of their work has been taken over by administrative penal courts, provided for by the decree of September 13, 1940, and attached to police and administrative departments. In effect, they supersede the former German and Polish system of local justice. They deal with minor offenses, and their decisions may be appealed to the district chief, whose authority is final. Finally, the Nazis have introduced the Sondergerichte, special courts dealing exclusively with political crimes.

Article I of the decree of February 19, 1940, states that "Polish courts are authorized to function whenever the German courts do not have jurisdiction." It is clear, therefore, that the Polish judiciary is secondary and auxiliary, and that the administration of justice belongs, in principle (and substantially in fact) to German courts. German courts may "examine" and set aside judgments of Polish courts; and German district chiefs may supervise Polish courts within their particular areas. Where jurisdiction is doubtful, German courts decide by whom a case is to be tried; and their decisions may not be questioned by a Polish court. All judgments rendered by Polish courts which became enforceable after July 31, 1939, are subject to review by the German judiciary. And, "when the interests of the German nation so require," even judgments enforceable before July 31, 1939, are subject to such review, upon motion of the director of the department of justice of the Government-General.

This entire court system is a powerful instrument of terror and of Germanization, but above and beyond it is the Gestapo, independent of courts and bound by no law. The S-S and police chief is authorized to "take any action he may consider necessary for the maintenance of security and public order." The scope of Gestapo activities may be judged from the presence of 9,000 Gestapo agents in the Government-General, 3,000 of whom are stationed in the vicinity of Warsaw. The great majority of Gestapo executions are unrecorded by the courts.

B. Economic Exploitation.

1. Labor.[1]

In October, 1939, all "unemployed" Poles (those not engaged in essential war-production industry), between the ages of 18 and 60, were required to register for labor service, and since that date German control has been steadily extended. In February, 1940, all the women of Warsaw were forced to register; and in December, 1940, registration was extended to boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18, who were deprived of the protection of child labor laws. Control was further extended in the fall of 1940, when all social welfare agencies and social insurance were combined under German control in the Supreme Welfare Council.

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[1] See also Government-General: Minorities (Jews) for material on Jewish labor.

Exploitation of Polish labor increased in 1941. Wholesale round-ups of Polish men and women for labor service in Germany continued. Continued. Continuing registration of labor and issuance of labor books provided closer checks on available labor supply. In March the Germans established the *Polnischer Baudienst*, which put 70,000 young Polish conscript laborers to work constructing strategic roads and fortifications in preparation for the Russian campaign. Poles who wished to escape this service might do so by paying several hundred zlotys to the proper officials - but in German-occupied Poland, such an amount of money is not easily found. According to Polish sources in June, 1941, there were about 500,000 Polish agricultural laborers in Germany, 150,000 industrial workers, and 300,000 prisoners of war engaged both in industry and in agriculture. In addition, some 700,000 Polish prisoners of war are still in German prison camps.

Wage scales for Germans and Poles doing the same work are theoretically equal. Actually, Polish wages are less because they are subject to a 15 percent tax--the Sozialausgleichausgabe--as a mark of racial inferiority.1/ Wages per month are actually, therefore, RM. 16 - 26 for men and RM. 15 - 25 for women, in addition to food and housing. Workers paid by the hour receive accommodations, plus wages in cash and in kind, or in kind only. Cash thus received amounts to 18 - 25 pfennig per hour for men and 16 - 20 pfennig per hour for women.

Polish workers in the Reich are required to wear a special badge, a violet-colored P on a yellow, diamond-shaped background. Polish industrial workers are separated entirely from their German co-workers, and may take no part in the activities of the German Labor Front. They are segregated in camps near their place of employment, and their freedom of movement is limited.

In the fall of 1941, the demand for certain types of skilled labor in Germany became so great that high rates of pay, paid holidays, and travelling expenses to Germany and back, were offered by private German companies through advertisements in the Polish-language paper of Warsaw. The building trades and the metal-working industries are still principal competitors for skilled Polish labor. The metal-working industry offers, in addition to the above inducements, extra clothing coupons and special allowances for separation from the family.

1/ Neue Zürcher Zeitung, December 8, 1941.

In the Government-General, wage scales are maintained approximately at pre-war levels, although the cost of living has increased by about 500 percent. A Warsaw street-car employee, for example, still earns about 50 zloty ($10.00) per week; but the present purchasing power of that sum is closer to 12 zloty. Wages of railway shopmen have been reduced to about 30 zloty per week; and those of employees on public works to about 25 zloty.

In the only industrial plants allowed to flourish in the Government-General - those engaged directly in war production - a large percentage of the total labor force are older workers. Control over these workers is extremely rigid, and arrests are frequent. Workmen are forbidden to enter departments other than their own. The death penalty is enforced for spreading information concerning details of production, and for failure to report others who do so. Younger men and women, after training in vocational sch schools of the Government-General and apprenticeship in munitions factories there, are sent to work in plants in the Reich.

Transportation

The urgency of the supply problem, has made the transportation system a matter of vital concern to the German administration from the beginning. Polish roads and waterways were of poor quality, while the Polish railroad system badly damaged by the war, needed extensive repairs. The railway administration was not integrated with that of the Reich, but was separately organized as the Ostbahn when the Government-General itself was established. It has been forced to depend to a large degree on Polish personnel for the lower positions. The network administered by Ostbahn consists of 3,000 kilometers of normal European track, and 1,000 kilometers of narrow gauge built originally for military purposes during the first world war.

In spite of the reconstruction of the Ostbahn, the demands upon it have constantly overburdened the system. Besides serving the normal needs of the country, it has had to transport large number of refugees, colonists, and laborers. With the outbreak of the Russo-German war, it has become still more important as the main link for troop transport and supply between Germany and the eastern front.

In order to supplement the railroad transport system, much emphasis has been placed upon the development of the Polish waterway system connecting the Vistula river with the Dnieper to the East and the Oder to the West. The Bug river from Modlin to Brest Litovsk has been deepened and dams are being erected on the Dunajec and Sola rivers. The great dam at Roznow on the Dunajec, east of Cracow, was nearing completion at the end of 1941.

The purpose of this development is threefold: to increase navigability of the rivers; to prevent floods and reclaim arable lands; and to create a source of electrical power for the industries of the Government-General.

On August 15, 1941, German control of river transportation was extended by a decree providing for complete regulation of river traffic, making for all practical purposes a German monopoly.

3. Agriculture and Marketing

Although primarily an agricultural area, the Government General normally imports grain from the area annexed by Germany, the most productive farm area of former Poland. The basin of the middle Vistula is generally poverty-stricken, with poor soils and an agriculture not nearly as well developed as in Western Poland. The farms produce mainly rye and potatoes, with pigs formerly fed mainly on the latters. The ordinary rotation is (1) potatoes with clover; (2) oats or barley with clover; (3) clover or lupins; (4) rye or wheat. Livestock feeding is not well developed. The only rich soil is in the wheat-producing areas of Lublin. The farm population density has always been very high, 81 persons per 100 hectares of farm land.

The soil is better in the Cracow area, but farm population density is higher, as there are more than 100 persons per 100 hectares of land. This is comparable with the crowded areas of Yugoslavia. With its poor sandy soil, Central Poland is one of the few areas in Europe definitely "over-populated." It is probable that on nearly every farm there was surplus labor. The standard of living was necessarily low, and even in the more favored (but more congested) South, peasants were never so well off as in Bohemia and Moravia. The Polish republic attempted in recent years to remedy this condition by establishing an industrial area in Galicia, in the triangle between the Vistula and the San, to absorb surplus labor and provide a better standard of living.1/

1/ Bulletin of International News, November 15, 1941, page 1861.

German agricultural production policy in the Government-General, as well as in the annexed areas, has been directed toward making each area as self-sustaining as possible in order to reduce transportation costs. The Nazis have tried, therefore, to increase the production of livestock and fodder crops as well as garden vegetable. To some degree they have succeeded. They claim spectacular increases also in the production of sugar beets (by 30 per cent), legumes (70 per cent), and corn (200 per cent). These particular gains were reported on farms directly under German management - former large estates and Jewish holdings.1/

But the staple rye and potato output declined between 30 and 40 per cent in 1941. Cold weather, rain and snow greatly delayed field work. The widespread commandeering of horses and wagons in preparation for the Russian campaign in the latter half of April and in May resulted in such great shortages that the rent of a horse per day was 50 zolty. The transfer of agricultural labor to Germany during the same period contributed further to the general decline in production.

The Germans have extorted a cruelly large amount of crops from the Government-General. Agricultural and animal products sent to the Reich in the year ending June 30, 1941 included 1,720 tons of wheat seed; 2,200 tons of rye; 2,245 tons of barley; 3,350 tons of oats; 9,500 tons of potatoes; 2,000 bulls; 94,000 pigs; 10,500 tons of artificial fertilizer; 100,000 tons of butter;

1/ There is some evidence that small Polish peasant holdings are being transferred to larger German-controlled units. The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung for Oct. 25, 1941, reports that 130,000 hectares have already been shifted, and the within the next 20 years 4,000,000 hectares more are to be transferred.

300,000 poultry, and 100,000,000 eggs. These totals exclude the enormous amounts consumed by the armies massing for attack upon Russia.

Since the opening of the Russian war, the drain upon agricultural resources in the Government-General has been tremendous. The Germans are trying to feed, on Polish territory, their armies en route to Russia, as well as those returning from the eastern front for reorganization. German sich and wounded are fed almost entirely by the local Polish population.

These ends have required a certain amount of cooperation, partly voluntary but mostly forced, from the Polish peasants. Products not obtained from the peasants by requisitioning were gained, at least temporarily, by controlling all trade in processed goods which the rural population needed. The control of such has been achieved by destroying previous channels, by monopoly of the supply of processed goods, and by rigid regulation of their distribution. Once this was achieved, the Polish peasant had practically no choice but to sell his produce to the Germans or their agents.

The execution of the basic plan for obtaining agricultural products and controlling future agricultural production would have been impossible without first gaining a monopoly of all trade. Since Poland is primarily agricultural, special emphasis was placed on trade concerned with farm implements, fertilizers, and farm produce. In order to effect this monopoly, all wholesalers were first forbidden to replenish their stocks, and were ordered to submit to the authorities complete lists of goods still in their possession. Simultaneously, they were restricted in their right to sell; both prices and quantities of goods were fixed by the occupation authorities.

Clandestine trading was brutally attacked. A decree forbade the importation of any victuals to the cities without special permits. Even small quantities of milk, meat, or eggs brought without authorization were mercilessly confiscated. Long-distance and suburban trains were frequently raided for food. At the same time, currency was withdrawn from circulation and bank deposits frozen in a vain effort to counteract the inflation of prices. The process was facilitated greatly by the initial disruption of trade caused by the war; and the policy adopted added further to the chaos. Prices rose madly as a result of the growing difficulties of obtaining fresh supplies and the fear of selling secret stocks on hand. It appeared, at first, that the economic measures of the Nazis were inconsistent - - that they had no guiding principle. But it soon became all too clear that there was a method; and that the Germans were driving at the total destruction of all trade, large and small, save that which they could directly control.

Having disrupted previous channels of trade, the Germans concentrated all sources of supply in German hands. To distribute supplies, the Germans organized the Agricultural Wholesale Central Office (Landwirtschaftliche Grosshandel Zentrale der Landwirtschaftlichen Zentralstellen.) It was established within the framework of the government at Cracow, and attached to the Bureau of the Four Year Plan there. In urban areas, the Agricultural Central supplies Nazi-selected wholesalers and retailers with agricultural produce. It acts as an advisory body to the Central Supply Organization whose offices determine the distribution of almost all consumers' goods. When products are used by both farm and city dwellers, the Agricultural Central, in an advisory capacity, allots a certain percentage for consumption by urban areas. The only other source of supply is the Black Market. In rural areas, the Agricultural Central makes use of the previously established cooperative societies, now directed by Nazi Landwirte. Only through the cooperative societies may peasants legally obtain consumers' goods and necessary agricultural implements.

The Agricultural Central fixes the quotas of goods for both urban and rural areas. The quotas are variable, since they depend not only upon the demand of the moment and the industrial productivity of the country, but above all on the quotas which the Four Year Plan Bureau in the Government-General allots for distribution to the Agricultural Central. The Four Year Plan Bureau in Cracow, in turn, depends on its main office in Berlin to strike a balance between Poland's requirements and the Reich's military needs.

The system of distributing the goods so supplied is best developed in agricultural areas, where it is based on the farm cooperatives. Goods for village consumption are transferred by the Agricultural Central to the headquarters of Cooperative Societies in each district, which in turn pass them on to county (Kreis) cooperatives. The latter forward them to their communal subdivisions. Quotas of goods supplied are determined not only by calculation of consumer demand, but also by the relation between demand and real necessity, and the extent to which a larger or smaller quota, in a given period for a given village or city, influences the general economic pattern.

Under the Polish repbulic, there had been cooperatives in every county (circle) of the area of the Government-General. As early as October, 1939, the _Landwirte_ (Nazi county agricultural agents), began to reorganize them for the benefit of the Germans.

The task of the _Landwirte_ was not easy, for the attitude of the Polish peasants toward any economic innovation has always been one of deep mistrust. For centuries peasants have purchased their necessities from Jewish merchants in neighboring towns; under the Republic they followed that tradition rather than buy in the stores of the cooperative societies, in spite of the lower prices of the latter. Under the Nazis, the cooperative stores were stocked with goods unobtainable elsewhere - such essentials as horse shoes, nails, chains, scythes, buckets, bags, agricultural implements, fertilizers, and gasoline - brought in from Silesia and the Reich at low prices. In order to prevent the peasant from selling his products on the Black Market, where prices were 300 to 500 per cent higher than on the legal German-controlled market, the peasant could buy nothing in the cooperative store with ordinary currency. He could use only certificates issued by the cooperatives in exchange for products given up by the peasant.

Other kinds of pressure were used to persuade the peasant to deal with the cooperative system. Membership in the societies, although not compulsory, was as a matter of fact unavoidable because of the economic and administrative pressure exerted upon recalcitrant persons. Also, to make the people believe that the administration of the cooperative societies had only the interests of the local population at heart, the Nazis placed the most respected persons in the county, regardless of their political views, at the head of individual organizations. Even Polish army officers who had fought against the Germans were thus employed in order to avert all suspicion that the occupation authorities were "milking" the natives.

Distribution of goods to cities was more complicated and less efficient than to the rural areas. The German policy of (1) eliminating the Jewish element; (2) concentrating commerce in as few hands as possible in order to facilitate control; (3) gradually replacing Poles by Volksdeutsche, made for chaos in the distribution system. A great deal of bickering and bribery increased the difficulties, since the sllotments of food and merchandise depended not only upon the Agricultural Central, but frequently upon the approval of many other Nazi offices.

Allotments by the Agricultural Central to the various cities were made in such a way that one or more wholesalers, according to the city's size, received the merchandise at previously fixed prices. To this price was added a commission for the Central. These wholesalers were then permitted to sell goods to retailers in fixed quantities; and, to the purchase price, they might add overhead and a moderate per cent as profit. The retail price also was strictly calculated and fixed. Quotas for each city were fixed on the same general principles as those for the rural areas.

To strengthen German control over the economic life of the Government-General still further, a Central Economic Chamber for the Government-General (Zentralkammer für die Gesamtwirtschaft im Generalgouvernement), controlled by the State Secretary, was established in Cracow on March 23, 1941, with functional divisions of industry, agriculture and food, forestry, and labor.[1] There are subsidiary Economic Chambers in all districts. This institution coordinates what remains of private agricultural, industrial, and trade associations, and also controls foreign trade.

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[1] (Deutsches Recht, I, Ausgabe A, p. 839, April 12, 1941).

4. Forestry

Exploitation of the Government-General's forest resources has been extremely thorough. The office of the *Oberlandforstmeister* is subdivided into two bureaus - one for forestry and the other for the lumber industry. In each of the four districts is a *Landforstmeister* who supervises from nine to twelve *Forstinspektoren.* The territory of each Forstinspektor is in turn subdivided into smaller units headed by *Forstmeister.*

Nazi authorities calculated that only four million cubic meters could be cut in one season without damage to the forest crop, and that the internal needs of the area could satisfied by not less than eight million cubic meters. A two-year cutting was therefore ordered - a cutting which did not contemplate exportation to the Reich. But at the end of January, 1940, came the order for 4,300,000 cubic meters of timber and railroad ties to be sent to Germany. It was necessary, therefore, to fell 10,363,000 cubic meters, over 2-1/2 years' normal cutting. Moreover, demand for resin has resulted in ruthless cutting of coniferous forests. In 1940, 3,859, 912 kg. of resin were obtained from 11,967 hectares.

There are no indications that the rate of forest cutting decreased in 1941. Export into the Reich has been checked, however, because of the demands of the Russian campaign.

5. Raw Materials and Industry

The Polish republic had fostered industry in what is now the Government-General as a means of absorbing surplus labor and in order to move the munition industry to a spot less vulnerable than Upper Silesia. Most of the raw materials were of necessity imported, since this area is poor in minerals. The only iron supplies are found in the vicinity of Radom, the rest must come from Scandinavia and Upper Silesia. The latter also exports coal, since the Government-General has only small brown coal deposits near Ostrowiec and Opatow. Petroleum and phosphates are concentrated in the new province of Galicia, while there are large sulphur beds and salt deposits in the Cracow district. The Germans have used these local raw materials as much as possible in order to save transportation; but industrial production in this area still necessarily depends upon imports of raw material.

Industry in the Government-General suffered severely as a result of the war and the German occupation; and little was done immediately to repair the damage. The metallurgical industry, for instance employed in 1940 only 17,000 persons, barely 35 per cent of the total employed in August, 1939. With the preparations for the campaign in the East and the actual outbreak of the Russo-German war, some renewal and expansion of key war industries took place. Its effect on the total industrial situation has not yet been very great. Total industrial employment in the first half of 1941 was only 25 to 35 per cent of pre-1939 figures.

The building industry has been completely strangled. Even the repair of old buildings requires a special government permit. Orders are pouring into cement factories, but all production is diverted to purely military purposes. The scarcity of cement, tiles, and building lumber hampers the completion of work already begun.

The wood-working industry encounters transportation difficulties from the forest to the saw-mills. Because of the great consumption of wood for military purposes, the export of wood from the Government-General into the Reich has been checked.

Existing industry is concentrated increasingly in German hands. Before the war there were 25 agricultural machinery plants. This number was reduced to nine, ostensibly in the interest of "wise rationalization," actually in order to ensure German control.

The cellulose industry has been strengthened of late, with German control assured September 4, 1941, by the establishment of a corporation called the "Industrial Foundation of the Government-General, Cracow." The cellulose and paper factories of Moscice, Niedowice, and Czestochowa (Tschenstochau) have been incorporated recently into this new "foundation."

Most important of all is the munitions industry, which is concentrated mainly in (1) the district of Radom, particularly the area between the cities of Radom and Kielce; (2) the city of Warsaw, still the greatest transportation center; (3) the Vistula-San triangle, centering the town of Rzeszow (Reichshof); and (4) within the borders of the annexed territory.

The following information on specific plants has been obtained entirely from the report of the Polish Minister of Home Affairs, of November 4, 1941, based on data collected in the spring of 1941.

a. The Radom Area

Some of the plants in this area have been rationalized and the output of certain products increased. At the same time, foundries and blast furnaces probably have not increased total production because of raw material shortages caused by transportation difficulties. (1-6)

b. City of Warsaw

This locality specializes in finishing industries and in the manufacture of precision instruments. (7-11)

c. Vistula-San Triangle

The airplane factories appear to be concentrated in this area, which contains also railroad shops, cement mills, and canneries. (12-18)

d. Miscellaneous: Along border of annexed area.

The chemical works are mainly near the Upper Silesian area. (19-24)

(1) Starachowice (Starachowitz). In comparison with the situation before the war, production has not increased; on the contrary, the foundry is producing at only 30 per cent of capacity. It manufactures artillery and anti-aircraft shell of 40, 75, 88, 105, and 150 mm. caliber. The caliber 105 is adapted for loading with gases. A cylinder, 34 mm. in diameter with the walls 2-1/2 mm. thick, is introduced into the shell. At first these shells were exported, but at present they are accumulated in warehouses, where there are now approximately 250,000 of them. In addition, 37mm. and 40 mm. armoured plates were produced which were test-proof against 105 mm. guns. An increase in

production is sought, and to that end machinery is being brought in from France and Belgium. The main difficulty experienced by the plant is a shortage of good steel.

(2) Ostrowiec Works (directly north of Opatow, on line east of Kielce). This plant received orders for fore, aft, and entrance parts for 20 submarines. Approximately 200 freight cars are produced monthly. Coal is very scarce, and a great blast furnace had to be closed down for lack of coke. Orders were received for 12,000 artillery fuses. Personnel has been greatly reduced.

(3) Steel Works Wola (northwest of Radom). Production in March, 1941, included 1237 tons of forged parts for arms; 990 casings for airbombs were an important item. Tolling mill output was approximately 6,000 tons, including bolts, rolled steel, steel wire, tin plate, and similar products; the steel works proper had an output of 4,500 tons including 172 tons of turned ingots, and 28 tons of steel castings. A steady flow of products from these works goes to different industrial enterprises in the Reich: Vitkovice Bergbau, Mährisch-Ostrau; Schlösser, Offenbach am Main; Skodawerke, Prague; Schlesner & Co., Osnabrück; Gebr. Keyne, Offenbach am Main; Ernst Komerski & Co., Hamburg; Spakingswerk, Hildesheim; Rheinmetall Borsig A.G., Düsseldorf; Sperrwaffen Inspektion, Kiel; Luftfahrtapparatenbau, Berlin S.E. 36; Lehrenprüfstelle der Luftwaffe, Berlin-Aldershof (205 tests); A.E.G. Fabriken, Hanningsdorff; Marine Sperzugamt, Wilhelmshaven (32 tests); Versuchsanstalt Berkernforde (9 tests).

3,800 workers, 800 engineers and clerks, 68 of them German, are employed.

(4) Ammunition Production: Skarzysko (west of Radom, east of Opoczno). All divisions show an improvement as compared to the prewar position. Machines with much greater efficiency have been imported from Germany. In the first half of the year, ten carloads of machinery of various types arrived, and orders are outstanding for approximately a hundred additional carloads. These machines were installed in the shops, where fuses and ammunition are manufactured. Additional men and equipment were brought in (probably from Steelworks Wola and Starachowice) to make artillery projectiles to be loaded with gases. The projectiles are sent to the Reich.

Consumption of Materials		In the last 3 months of 1940	In the first 3 months of 1941
Steel for grenades	8.88 mm.	144,000 kg.	677,000 kg.
" " "	10.5 mm.	300,000 "	891,000 "
" " "	15.5 mm.	411,000 "	1,013,000 "
Steel for fuses	33 mm.	59,000 "	117,000 "
Staffs for projectiles for 20 mm. rifles		129,000 "	59,000 "
Disks for shells for 20 mm. rifles		959,000 pieces	2,120,000 pcs.
Belts for the manufacture of projectiles for rifles, model 98		---	48,000 kg.
Belts for the manufacture of projectiles for shells for rifles model 98		---	161,000 "
High-grade steel for rifles model 98		---	1,670,000 "

In March, about 8,000 persons were employed; a further increase in employment is expected, together with an increase in production of ammunition for Bofors guns. It is expected that part of the workers will be moved to Leipzig to work for Hasag. Approximately 2,000 male and female workers, from 18 to 23 years of age, will leave voluntarily or compulsorily.

(5) Arms Manufacture: Radom (District Radom). From the time the factory was opened until the first of January 1941, 47,600 rifles were manufactured; 8,800 bayonets, 16,390 pistol barrels, and 1,910 bicycles. Stocks of various kinds of tools destined for Skarżysko, Zielenjewski Be-Te-Ha, and others were shipped to Germany. Up to May, the factory had obtained orders to manufacture 2,000 revolvers, together with ammunition. In the first three months of 1941, 220 trucks also were manufactured. On inventory there were 50,000 completed parts of arms, and pig iron for approximately 40,000 carriages. About 15,000 kg. of various kinds of steel arrive daily. Four hundred and fifty-nine clerks and 3,589 workers are employed. It is expected that skilled workmen will be shipped to Germany.

(6) Works "Granat," Kielce (District Radom). Work in machine shops in two 10-hour shifts has been changed to three 8-hour shifts. Production includes 600 casings of 40 mm. caliber for Bofors anti-aircraft guns; fuses AZ (casings) 380,000 pieces monthly. The production of casings for fuses and corks for fuses had to be terminated, as supplies of raw materials were exhausted. Shells for ammunition of 40 mm. were manufactured out of pre-war supplies. Existing stocks will last for 18 months. The mounting and finishing of the fuses has been stepped up. Employment averages around 1,200 persons, 40 per cent of them women. Younger workers from this plant, particularly those between 18 and 23 years of age, are being transferred to industries in the Reich itself. Each worker must sign a declaration that such a transfer is voluntary.

(7) Tele- and Radiotechnical Works, Warsaw, Grochowska. The products are chiefly microphones of various military types. Orders have been placed for 32,000 since August, 1940, and orders are in for 30,000 earphones. Microphones were manufactured in September, October, November, and December, 1940 at the rate of 10,000 monthly; 15,000 pieces of metal parts for fuses have been ordered, and they have been manufactured at the rate of 3,000 monthly since November, 1940. Each month approximately 100,000 handles, 150,000 needles are produced. Five hundred radios of type "AQ" have been ordered; 225 of them was delivered. The remainder are to be delivered at the rate of 50 monthly, Five hundred and twenty-four clerks and 1,783 workers are employed.

(8) Panstwowa Rifle Factory, Warsaw, Dworska 29. No great changes in production during the last fiscal year have appeared, but preparations for war production have started.

(9) Railworks, Pruszkow, Warsaw. Fifteen to eighteen freight cars and ten to fifteen passenger cars are repaired daily, 70 per cent of them from Germany. Delivery dates must be kept. Under construction is a shed for the assembling of motor cars, and in this building there is now a large repair shop for freight cars. Supply of raw materials such as grease is diminishing; supplies of brass are nearly exhausted, copper and tin are used in insignificant quantities. Approximately 2,500 men are employed.

(10) Optical Works, Warsaw, Grochowska, 316. There are two managements: PZO and Optische Präzisionswerke, A. G. The first, in Polish hands, is entrusted with administrative arrangements for the factory, and is charged with German orders. The

management is run on the same principles as the Zeiss works. Costs amount to 30,000 zlotys per month. Optische Werke fills orders for German navy. The navy has ordered 2,000 binoculars, and 8,000 prismatic field glasses LF 6/30; 2,000 distance meters for submarines, DF10x80 and 10x80/20; 1,000 land distance meters 10x80/18; 2,000 instruments for adjusting naval distance meters, German model; 2,000 roller bearings for these instruments, trademark "Boze;" 500 correction mounts for the adaptation of distances and for anti-aircraft guns; 500 telescopes LDF, Polish model and blueprint.

(11) "Ursus" Warsaw-Ursus. After the completion of 27 trial tanks, the works will step up mass production of tanks of the same type as those made by the firm Pamo.

(12) P.Z.L. Works, Mielec (generally called Heinkel Flugmotorenwerk). Production is for Heinkel 111 and Junkers 52, and includes power pumps capable of servicing all lubricating points in a very short time.

(13) P.Z.L. Works, Rzesow (Reichshof). Although there is a scarity of aluminum these works have kept up nearly full production of Daimler-Puch motors. Production has actually been increased in the manufacture of a motor of 1200 HP and 2200 R.P.M., 12 cylinders, piston stroke 160 mm., cylinder diameter of 150 mm. Factories are being built and 54 machines imported from Germany. German experts have arrived to manage production. Motors are made with slight deviations in type for fighter planes and for pursuit planes. Production is hampered by a scarcity of aluminum and duraluminum.

There is a special assembly plant to finish the products, and in all 2,500 people are employed. The management of the Ostbahn in Cracow has placed an order for cranes, trademark "Faitlof," for transshipment of coal, and 120 cars with unloading hoppers for the transshipment of freight, but similar orders for cars with unloading hoppers for ore were canceled. The division which makes ventilators also makes piston rings for torpedoes, perimeter 550 mm. diameter 140 mm. There are orders for 3,000 of each kind, (that is aft parts, fore parts, and center parts); and 200 of each kind are shipped monthly to Germany. Preparations are being made to start production of spheric mines "OQ", on an order placed by Sperrwaffeninspektion for 75 pieces.

(14) P.Z.L. Works, Rzeczow (Reichshof). This plant produces monthly about 25 completed parts of an airplane motor of 12 cylinders. The factory does not make a complete motor. The manufactured parts are sent to the firm Henschel in Kassel.

(15) Fitzner-Gampner, Zieliniewski, Sanok (District Cracow). Manufactures railroad cars, and employs approximately 1500 persons. Work is in two 10-hour shifts.

(16) Cegielski, Rzeszow (Reichshof, District Cracow). In two factory sheds spared from destruction during the war, production has begun on cement-based armored boxes 1.20 m. high, 4 m. long, with plate 5 mm. thick and openings for machine guns. Armored boxes of this kind are sent to the East.

(17) Meat Cannery in Debica (District Cracow). About

30,000 cans of meat from controlled stocks are produced each month. Beef, pork and even hosemeat with a mixture of pork are used, and total production is sent to army storehouses.

(18) Works "Stomil", Debica (District Cracow). The complete liquidation of the factory has been considered, but this plan has been given up. It is said that certain needed machinery will be imported. Rubber is the chief imported raw material, mainly from France. Synthetic rubber comes from Germany. Production includes new tires for cars and bicycles, and retreading of worn tires.

(19) Rakow Works, near Czestochowa (Techenstochau, District Radom). Casings for artillery grenades are the chief product obsolete equipment and lack of raw materials have prevented any new development, and there are rumors that the factory will be closed down.

(20) Factory Rohn: Zielinski; Zychlin, Kutno (Gau Wartheland; Zychlin, just east of Kutno). This factory produces electric motors and transformers, which are sent to Upper Silesia, Lodz or Mühlheim, as well as various electrical appliances which, according to old-time employees, are for use in submarines. These appliances are made very accurately from choice materials, even from gold alloys. About 700 workers, are employed under German management.

(21) Chemische Werke "Askania", Jelen. (District of Cracow; west of city of Cracow). Ten to twelve carloads of finished goods leave the factory every other day.

(22) Chemische Werke "Askania" Konewka. Construction work has been finished, and increased production was planned for the first half of June.

(23) Chemische Werke "Askania", Ujazd (District Radom). Approximately 12 km. west of Tomaszow (Tomaschau). Work is of the same type as that at Jelen and Konewka.

(24) Lodz (Litzmannstadt, Warthegau). A factory for war material has been installed in the basement of the Widzewska establishment.

C. Treatment of Poles

1. Food Rationing and Prices

As a result of the Russian war and a grain harvest 30 to 40 per cent below normal because of unfavorable weather, the food situation in towns of the Government-General has become desperate. In May the Warsaw rations were 1 kilo 5 dekagrammes of bread per week; about 400 dekagrammes of sugar per month; theoretically ten dekagrammes of meat per week, but actually less. This represents some 500 calories daily, much less than the minimum required for maintenance of health. Potatoes were not issued at all, owing to the lack of transport, and (according to the Germans) the failure of the farmers to provide the quotas demanded by authorities.

Even on the Warsaw Black Market, shortages developed, and within a month prices rose by 160 per cent, which meant a tenfold increase over pre-war prices.

Black Market of Warsaw

	First half of May 1941	June 3	June 7
Potatoes (kg)	3 zlotys	5 zlotys	6 zlotys
Black bread (kg)	12 "	14 "	23 "
White bread (kg)	12-15 "	18 "	23 "
White flour (kg)	8-10 "	25-30 "	30-40 "
Groats (kg)	6- 8 "	----	----
Meat (kg)	20-30 "	25 "	----
Lard (kg)	30 "	40-50 "	50 "
Butter (kg)	40 "	50 "	67 "
Sugar (kg)	10 "	40 "	50 "
Eggs (each)	.8 "	1.5 "	1.7 "
Milk (litre)	2.5-2.8"	3.5 "	----

Whiskey is the only commodity which can be purchased freely and cheaply.

2. Education

The Poles are allowed only elementary schools and trade schools, all under strict German supervision. The only textbooks allowed are the German educational magazines Ster and Zawod i Zycie, written in the Polish language. School inspectors pay particular attention to history and geography, and very little to science. In order to increase the supply of skilled labor, vocational and technical education in the Government-General has been reorganized, and compulsory attendance at vocational schools regulated, by a decree of April 29, 1941 (effective July 1, 1941).

3. Morale; Air Raids; Broadcasts

With the outbreak of the Russo-German war, Polish morale received a decided lift, in spite of the further deterioration of economic conditions. Polish hopes rallied, and most of the Poles began to feel certain that the war would end in Hilter's defeat before the year was over. On hearing of new arrests and deportations, the characteristic reaction was said to be: "Yes, it is terrible, but now it is easier to endure, since we are certain that the Germans are lost. We have a new basis for faith in the future."

Air raids, even though they involve the killing of Polish civilians, are welcomed as an evidence of Allied strength. The blackouts ordered for the first time early in 1941 for the industrial areas of the Government-General added to Polish optimism, since the action was generally attributed to fear of long-range British bombers.

On May 9, 1941, a wholly unexpected air raid on Posen took place. In spite of the fact that eleven of the 114 victims were Poles, general rejoicing was openly manifested by the Poles, while the Germans were equally depressed. The raid was never mentioned in the German press.

When Warsaw was bombed by Soviet planes on June 23rd, 25th, and 26th, 1941, the same attitude was apparent. The first bombardment (quite unexpected), which took place at 5:30 P. M. on June 23rd, caused damage not only to the Praga suburb but also to the center of the city. To the great satisfaction of the Poles, it caused something like panic among the Germans, who sought refuge and fled in disorder. In general[1/] it may be said that the Germans in Poland display considerable nervousness. Their state of preparedness for air raids and information services appear to be very unsatisfactory.

Polish-language broadcasts from Allied territory have been sharply criticized by the Polish Minister of Home Affairs in London. In general, he says, the broadcasts do not justify the risk of listening to them, the penalty for which is death. Information is not specific enough; all the rest is stories and admonitions of little interest. Bombastic descriptions of minor incidents, such as the crash of a single German plane, provoke bitter smiles from the listeners who compare such tales with the misery and death they see all about them. Speeches of officials often create the impression of being designed to satisfy the speakers themselves, rather than the hearers. The influence

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[1/] This is the situation as described by M. Mikolajczyk from January to June, 1941. Whether or not it is accurate at present cannot be ascertained.

exercised by even the most successful propaganda coming from abroad cannot compare with the effects of the news of actual Allied successes, especially those of Polish troops. These latter are a most powerful stimulant to Polish resistance.

4. Arrests.

German treatment of the Poles in the Government-General is not as harsh as in the annexed territories, despite the tightening German control of 1941. Mass arrests and removals to concentration camps, affecting largely the intellectual classes, continued on a large scale. During the year, there were on the average a thousand political arrests per month in Warsaw. In January, some 500 persons were arrested in Kielce, Radom, and Czestochowa; while in the same month mass arrests took place in Starachowice, Pionke, Jedlnia, and Zwalen. Dozens of these persons were shot; the rest were packed off to prisons and concentration camps. In February, several hundred persons were arrested at Lublin, Zamosc, Pulawy, and Chelm. In March, 300 persons were arrested in Warsaw, 150 at Lowicz, and 300 at Siedlce. April and May brought further extensive arrests in Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, Pulawy, and other Polish towns.

5. Expulsions

Expulsions are not restricted to the annexed provinces. In the Government-General also large areas have been vacated, ostensibly for military purposes. Especially since the German reverses in Russia, there has been an intensification of this process, particularly along the Vistula in the areas above Warsaw. Evacuations hold a particular terror for those areas in which a good percentage of the inhabitants are originally from the annexed provinces. Yet peasants in the Government-General who leave voluntarily before the date set are granted an indemnity of 100 zlotys per head and are allowed to take with them their livestock and other possessions. Despite such inducements the peasants cling to their homes to the last.

Mass deportations were under way as early as November, 1940. They have been particularly heavy in the province of Radom, where much of the Government-General's heavy industry is concentrated. All along the Warsaw-Radom railway, villages have been evacuated. In November and December, 1940, 40 villages between Glowaczow, Bobrovniki, and Brzoza on the left-hand side of the Warsaw-Koziencie road, were vacated. To make room for fortifications, the evacuation of 20 villages in the district of Grajec was ordered. Forty-three other villages were ordered to be completely evacuated before May 1, 1941.

D. Minorities

The Government-General, before the addition of Galicia on August 1, 1941, consisted almost entirely of Poles. German statistics based on the 1940 census (technically not a census but an administrative count) show the following nationality distribution percentages in the four districts of the Government-General:

	Cracow	Radom	Warsaw	Lublin	Total
Poles	78.0	83.1	83.4	71.4	79.1
Jews	9.4	15.7	15.5	17.3	14.2
Ukrainians . . .	11.9	0.0	.1	9.9	5.7
Germans	.5	1.0	.7	1.3	.8
Others	.2	.2	.3	.1	.2

(Geographischer Anzeiger, Hft.7-9, April,1941,Tafel 9).

The Ukrainian minority, it will be noted, was small, and was concentrated in the areas adjacent to eastern Galicia. Together with the Germans, Ukrainians constituted only 6.5 per cent of the total population; yet before 1939 they were the most numerous and difficult national minority with which the Polish Republic had to deal. The addition of Galicia, with its population of some 5,000,000 Ukrainians, has deprived the Government-General of its predominantly Polish character. So far, however, the effect on administration has been very slight, since administratively the new province is relatively separated from the four original districts of the Government-General.

In spite of the overwhelmingly Polish character of the original Government-General, the Germans have never admitted officially that it constituted a national unit. Rather, they have treated it as an area of racial mixture, carrying out their "divide and rule" policy, particularly by encouraging the Volksdeutsche and the Ukrainians. Further, the occupation authorities not only distinguish between Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Jews; but they also treat as separate national units such Polish groups as the Carpathian Highlanders and the Lemki. This tribal unit policy is similar to that in the annexed areas, except that its purpose is domination rather than Germanization.

1. Ukrainians

The Nazis have freely incited the Ukrainians against their hereditary foes, the Russians and the Poles, but at the same time have carefully discouraged any pan-Ukrainian movement. Since 1941 the "Ukrainian problem" has been treated as a purely local issue to prevent union of Ukrainian groups in the old Government-General wtih those in Galicia. Ukrainian military detachments, organized originally as nuclei of a future Ukrainian Army, have been shorn to power by transforming them into local police guards; and Ukrainian financial institutions have been placed under rigid German control.

Official leadership of Ukrainian affairs in the old Government-General is exercised by a Central Committee, headed by Kubilowicz, formerly a dozent at the University of Cracow. The elements which he represents advocate complete cooperation with the Germans. Opposed to the Kubilowicz group is the extremely nationalist Bandera faction. It is asserted that Bandera, before the outbreak of the Russo-German war, was subsidized by Berlin; and well-authenticated sources report that his group aided the Germans in their occupation of eastern Galicia. Having used him in accomplishing their own purposes, however, the Germans apparently have discarded him in favor of the Kubilowicz group in the old Government-General, and the older Ukrainian leadership in Galicia.

2. White Russians

There are neither White Russians (Bieloruss) nor Lithuanians in the Government-General, but both Germans and Poles are interested in them - the Germans because of Russia, and the Poles in view of the fact that they constituted important minorities in the pre-war republic. Both these groups are included now in the new territory of Ostland.

On the whole, the White Russians have been completely passive. German invitations to emigrés to form a national organization achieved the establishment in Berlin of a White Russian newspaper, Ranica, published under the auspices of Dr. Jan Tankiewicz. A certain Mr. Okinezic who, shortly before the outbreak of the Russo-German war, had formed a group advocating co-operation with the Germans in administrative matters, was appointed one of the advisers on eastern European affairs to the German authorities. His memorandum, "Problems in the East" advocates the dismemberment of the Soviet Union into a combination of national states associated politically and economically with the Reich.

The outbreak of the Russo-German war has made the White

Russian position still more complicated. The Germans, posing as allies and defenders of the White Russian minority, are aided by the memory of recent Soviet occupation. Yet White Russian leaders at the moment are divided rather evenly into three groups: the pro-Soviet group, with and allied orientation; the pro-German group (least numerous); and the group friendly to the Germans, but anxious to establish some cooperation with the Poles. Neither sympathy nor cooperation exists between the White Russians and the Ukrainians.

3. Lithuanians

At the end of 1940 Lithuanian leaders in Germany began more active operations. A certain Anciewicz, then living in Berlin, assumed leadership of emigré Lithuanians formerly residing in Poland. A graduate of Vilna University, he had previously been associated with Communist activities; and had cooperated under the Polish regime with Dombinski and Jedrychowski. The leading personality of the National Lithuanian Committee in Berlin was the Lithuanian Minister to Germany, Colonel Kazys Skirpa; and it was he who laid the goundwork for the revolt against the Soviets. After the outbreak of the Russo-German war he and his deputy, Ambrozivicius, formed a provisional government; but instead of recognizing Lithuania as an independent state, the Germans incorporated the territoy into Rosenberg's Ostland, anming Von Rintelen as commissar of the Lithuanian area. The commissar is assisted by a council of nine Lithuanian leaders, five of whom had formerly been closely associated with Colonel Skirpa and the nationalist Waldemaras[1] group. Anciewicz is apparently out of the picture. Most important figure in the advisory council is General Kubiliunas - who had attempted a coup d'etat in 1934.

The fact that Lithuania has not been allowed to become even a puppet state like Slovakia has caused dissatisfaction among some of the Lithuanian nationalists; but others of them are apparently pinning their hopes on the new Ostland. Younger Lithuanian elements, say the Poles, are tending toward cooperation with the Poles.

4. Jews

The Jewish population of Poland in 1940 numbered 1,725,000, with 545,000 in the annexed area and 1,180,000 in the Government-General. Territory conquered from Russia in 1941 added 1,575,000 more to the total.

Most of the Jews are in ghetto areas. In Warsaw, where restrictions are especially severe, about 400,000 Jews are herded into the ghetto; in Lodz (Litzmannstadt) 150,000; in Lublin (the original site of the projected "Jeish Reservation," recently enlarged) 60,000; in Cracow, about 20,000. Besides these principal areas, ghettos have been newly created in Lemberg, Vilna, Kaunas, Riga, Minsk, Kiev, Odessa, and other cities in the Ukraine and in White Russia.

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[1] Professor Waldemaras (b. 1883) was the first premier of Lithuania and represented that country at the Peace Conference in 1919. In 1926, as a result of a Military Coup, he was made virtual dictator. He was aided by the clerical party, but leaned most heavily upon the "Iron Wolf", a fascist organization. In September, 1929 he was overthrown; but his chauvinistic followers remained a powerful factor in Lithuanian politics.

The Warsaw area is supposed to be a model for other ghettos, and in administrative, economic, and other respects, it is typical of the others. Yet it is also different, for its Jews are treated more harshly than, for instance, the Cracow Jews. In Cracow, not all Jews are concentrated in the ghetto; in Warsaw, the entire Jewish population of that city and its surrounding area, and also Jews from other areas (especially from Austria) are herded into the ghetto. The ghetto is administered by a sort of Jewish municipal council, whose chairman serves as mayor of the Jewish community. The Jewish community supervises within the ghetto such matters as religion, sanitation, schools, communal kitchens, and the distribution of newly arrived inhabitants. German and Polish police, as well as Jewish militia (unarmed and not in uniform) maintain order. German control over Jewish affairs is in the hands of a special commissioner attached to the Warsaw district administration.

All commodities produced in the ghetto are strictly controlled by the Nazi authorities, and, in most cases, are taken away either for the military machine or for distribution outside the ghetto. There is a special monetary system, with a circulation inside the ghetto only. The German system of clearing and barter is applied to all trade between the ghetto and the outside world. By means of these controls, the value of goods produced in the ghetto is never permitted to exceed the cost of allotted rations. If production increases, food prices and special taxes are adjusted accordingly by the Nazis. As a result, the ghetto finds it impossible to improve its economic position. The resulting tendenccy to "go slow" is counteracted by the practice of impressing all workers not fully employed into forced labor gangs.

In the spring of 1941 the German authorities recruited men between 12 and 40 years of age for labor battalions. The recurits were sent to labor camps at Josefow, Radosc, Tyszowka, Biala Podluska, and Milejow; and also to the quarries near Opatow.

The German policy of extermination has grown considerably more severe in the last few months. Police control and food supply provide the essential means of pressure.

The general feeling among the Jews is anti-German, except for those used as agents by the Gestapo. These latter are quite numerous. The general conviction among the Jews is that the Hitler regime will not last long. Communist and pro-Soviet sympathies are spreading, especially since the outbreak of the Russian-German war. The Jewish militia and the labor battalions represent elements which might easily be organized for action should the German control slacken.